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ART. XXIV.—*Illustrations of the Languages called Zand and Pahlaví ;*
by JOHN ROMER, Esq., late Member of Council at Bombay,
M.R.A.S., &c.

Read July 1, 1837.

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS, BY PROFESSOR WILSON,
Director of the R.A.S.

A PAPER has been entrusted to me for communication to the Society by one of its members, Mr. Romer, which offers some valuable contributions towards the determination of a question of considerable difficulty and great literary importance,—the authenticity of the Zand and Pahlaví languages, as they appear in the religious writings of the Parsis. A very wide and irreconcilable difference of opinion has prevailed, and continues to prevail, with regard to the genuine or fictitious character of these dialects, and every thing which tends to establish either beyond the possibility of controversy, cannot fail to be interesting to the Society and the public.

Without proposing to enter into a detail of the views which have been advocated by the eminent Orientalists who have expressed their sentiments on either side of the dispute, a brief notice of their conclusions may perhaps be of use i. Recalling to our recollection the principal points under discussion.

For our first accurate knowledge of the religious books of the Parsis of Gujarat, we are indebted, as is well known, to Anquetil du Perron. Both in his translation of the Zand avasta, and in some separate dissertations published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, Monsieur du Perron has maintained the authenticity and high antiquity of the Zand and Pahlaví languages, in which those works are composed. The former he asserts to have been the spoken language of the countries between the Caspian and Black Sea, and of the upper part of Mesopotamia, or, in a word, of Northern Media, several centuries before the æra of Christianity. Pahlaví, according to him, was also spoken in the countries between Dilem, Mazanderan, and Farsistan, at least as far back as the date of Zoroaster, the reputed author of the Zand avasta.

These assertions of Du Perron were strenuously opposed by Richardson, in the Preface to his Persian Dictionary, who treats the claims of the Zand especially with great contempt, asserting it to be an invention of the Parsi priests; a barbarous jargon; a lingua-Franca, culled from the dialects of every surrounding country.

Sir William Jones, in his Discourse on the Persians, addressed to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, expresses his opinion that no genuine books in Zand or Pahlaví exist, and that the dialect of the Gabrs is a late invention of their priests, subsequent, at least, to the Mohammedan conquest of Persia; the Pahlaví abounding with verbal nouns and infinitives, evidently formed on the rules of Arabic grammar, and the Zand, consisting of six or seven Sanskrit words in every ten.

Colonel Vans Kennedy, in his work on the origin and affinity of the principal languages of Asia and Europe, after a full examination of what had been urged in favour of the genuineness of the languages of the Parsi writings, concurs entirely with Sir William Jones, and asserts that his conclusion of their being late inventions, is incontrovertible. The Zand, he says, is a pretended language invented by the Parsi priests, and never actually spoken or written by any people upon the face of the earth. The same remarks, he adds, apply with still greater force to Pahlaví.

Mr. Erskine, in a letter to Sir John Malcolm, on the sacred books and religion of the Parsis, in the second volume of the Bombay Transactions, so far differs from the preceding, that he appears not to regard the Zand as a fabrication, though he sees no reason to believe that it was ever a spoken language within the limits of the Persian empire. He concludes it to have been a dialect of Sanskrit current in some part of India, and employed by the Parsi priests exclusively, in the composition of their sacred books. The Pahlaví he concurs with Sir William Jones in considering as a dialect of Persian, spoken on the confines of Syria and Mesopotamia, and much intermixed with Syriac and Arabic. The date of the compilation of the Vendidad he refers to the æra of Ardashir Babegan, or about A. D. 229, when the imperfect remains of the lost volumes of Zoroaster were written down from the recitation of aged Mobeds and Dasturs. Even Mr. Erskine, therefore, entertains an opinion, not very favourable to the authenticity of the only monuments in which the Zand and Pahlaví are said to be preserved.

The English authorities are, therefore, unanimously opposed to the antiquity of the sacred writings of the Parsis, and to the genuineness of the languages in which they are composed. On the other hand, the Continental writers are equally unanimous in advocating their authenticity. Adelung, in his Mithridates, advances, in opposition to Richardson, that the invention of the languages is contrary to all probability, and that the Zand must be considered as a real language, which was once actually spoken. The Baron de

Sacy has attempted to explain various ancient inscriptions found in Persia, upon the principle of their being in the Pahlaví language; and Grotefend and St. Martin have attempted to read some of the arrow-head inscriptions, on the supposition that they are written in Zand. The late Professor Raske, in reply especially to Mr. Erskine, has published a defence of the authenticity of the Zand and Pahlaví languages, the principal arguments of which are comprehended in a letter to Mr. Elphinstone, which is published in the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society. Professor Raske maintains, that the Zand was a living language, the spoken language of Media, and that the Vendidad, as it exists, was composed before the time of Alexander the Great; farther he does not pretend to go, nor does he undertake to decide the date of Zoroaster, to whom he ascribes the authorship of the work. Mr. Raske's views seem to have been implicitly adopted on the continent. M. Burnouf, at Paris, has lithographed the text of the Vendidad, and has published two volumes of an elaborate translation of, and commentary upon, the Yashna; and Professor Bopp has taken the Zand for the basis of an extensive comparative grammar of it, with the Sanscrit, Greek, Latin, and Teutonic tongues. It is evident, therefore, that these last two writers consider the question as decided, or they would not devote their time and talents to such laborious illustrations of the Zand and Pahlaví languages.

Notwithstanding, however, the asserted opinion of Continental scholars, or the inference that is to be drawn from the labours in which they have engaged, it is impossible, in the face of the assertions and reasonings of our own equally eminent Orientalists, to feel quite convinced that the former are in the right; and it is obvious, that the subject requires farther and more deliberate investigation. One of the chief means for the accomplishment of this object is, access to the original texts, so as to comprehend, generally, the structure of the language, without being obliged to acquire a knowledge of it, which, in the present state of the study, must be, as M. Burnouf admits, necessarily imperfect. Some notion of its principles may, however, be possibly collected from the careful inspection of passages from the Parsi works, and from their collation with modern Persian; and it is this facility which Mr. Romer proposes to furnish, in the communication to which the attention of the Society is now invited.

MR. ROMER'S ILLUSTRATIONS.

COLONEL VANS KENNEDY, in his "Researches into the Origin and Affinity of the principal Languages of Asia and Europe," after an able examination, p. 169, et seq., of the different opinions maintained by Orientalists, as to whether the languages known among the modern Parsis by the names of Pahlaví and Zand are genuine tongues, formerly spoken in Persia, or nothing better than fabricated jargons, closes this part of his argument in the following words: "If, therefore, no proof can be adduced to establish the authenticity and antiquity of the Parsi books, it necessarily follows, that they cannot be received as evidence of the existence and antiquity of the languages named Zend and Pehlevi. The opinion, consequently, of Sir William Jones cannot be controverted; for he remarks,—'This distinction convinces me, that the dialect of the Gabrs, which they pretend to be that of Zerdesh, and of which Bahman gave me a variety of written specimens, is a late invention of their priests, or subsequent at least to the Musulman invasion; for, although it may be possible that a few of their sacred books were preserved, as he used to assert, in sheets of lead or copper, at the bottom of wells, near Yezd; yet, as the conquerors had not only a spiritual but a political interest, in persecuting a warlike, robust and indignant race of irreconcilable conquered subjects, a long time must have elapsed before the hidden scriptures could have been safely brought to light, and few, who could perfectly understand them, must then have remained; but as they continued to profess amongst themselves the religion of their forefathers, it became expedient for the Múbeds to supply the lost or mutilated works of their legislator by new compositions, partly from their imperfect recollection, and partly from such moral and religious knowledge as they learned, most probably among the Christians with whom they had intercourse.'"

The means of satisfactorily determining this question would, perhaps, be a present of some value to the literary world. I do not, however, presume to offer myself as competent to such an undertaking; but being in possession of some materials, the application of which may assist in throwing light on the subject by the mode of using them, I have not deemed myself precluded from laying them before the public in the shape thought most perspicuous, from considerations of my humble pretensions to Oriental knowledge, and this the more especially, since I shall confine myself to this single object, obtruding little as opinions of my own.

In explanation of the plan of comparison adopted in this paper, and of the way I was led to believe such a mode of exposition might be useful to the end proposed, I would refer to the *Dasátír*, the publication of which entirely dissipated with me, as it must have done with others, all doubts as to the genuineness of the tongue in which it is said the text is composed. The simple examination of what is called the original, in juxtaposition with the (misnamed) translation into Persian, cannot fail to convince any one acquainted with this language, that the *Asmání Zabán* is pure invention, the book having, in fact, been first written in Persian, and then translated into the uncouth jargon dignified with a name from Paradise.

The result of this proceeding with the text and alleged translation of the *Dasátír* induced me to try a similar one with the Zand and Pahlaví, with the view of conveying some notion of their grammatical construction, if they possess any; and the extracts from the books in these languages, here following, have been made and disposed with this object. They are given in the Roman character, because, probably, few men of letters would take the trouble to master the alphabets employed in writing the Zand and Pahlaví, in order to institute a comparison between these and other languages. I should also add, that the transcriptions are made from copies in which the Zand and Pahlaví originals are underlined with their words expressed in Persian letters. I likewise subjoin a scanty specimen of the elements of Pahlaví grammar obtained from a *Dastúr*, (it was all his store,) who professed extensive knowledge of the language.

The short account of the book named *Dín-kard*, is offered to Orientalists, as bringing to their notice a work I have not seen mentioned.

The late Múlla Fíroz, of Bombay, in a controversial work on the *Pársí* year, called *Kitáb-i-Avízhah Dín*, in which he cites many passages from the *Dín-kard*, quoting the third *Daftar* of the book, says,—“The translator of the *Dín-kard* from Greek into Pahlaví himself states, that the original *Dín-kard* was composed in the time of king *Gúshtásp*, and that the book now extant and known by this name in Pahlaví, is not the original *Dín-kard*, that book having been burnt by Alexander. That translations of it into Greek, made by order of Alexander, and subsequently, also, by direction of *Ardsher Bábágán*, were preserved and remained in Persia until the Arabian conquest. That the reliques of these ancient and mutilated translations falling into the hands of a learned man, named *Ādarbád*, he put them together to the best of his ability, compiling, from what remained intelligible to him of such

materials, a new book in the Pahlaví language. That it is nevertheless doubtful, whether the Dín-kard, extant, is the work of Ādarbād, or of some other person; but, be this as it may, it is certain the book was brought to India from Persia. In the text the author is named Máwandád, son of Bahrám Mihrbán; the date of writing the book, the year 369 of Yazdijird, A. D. 999. In A. Y. 865, A. D. 1496, it was transcribed by Shaharyár Ardsher, and another copy appears to have been made by Mawandád Bahrám Ardsher, of Túrkbábád, in A. Y. 1009, A. D. 1639.

In the following extract from the Vendídád, of which work several passages are given in Múllá Fíroz's book, Kitáb-i-Awízahh Dín, the Pahlaví version and Persian translation, with the former underlined in Persian letters, are by the Múllá. The Zand is not interlined, but the words of the text are, separately re-written in Gújaratí characters, by the assistance of which the subjoined transcription of it, in Roman letters, has been made and verified.

Z.	Pirisad	Zarthoshtarú	Ahorim-mazdám	Ahorimmazd		
P.	Paníd	Zartohasht	min Anhúma	ágh Anhúma		
Per.	Pursid	Zartúsh	az Úrmazd	go Úrmazd		
Z.	mainf	sapinista	dátari	githanám	astawatanám	
P.	madúre	apzúní	dádár	gailán	ostahúmandán	
Per.	múnú	afzáindah	dádár	jahán	ostakhwámmánd	
Z.	ásaúm	kad ta	nara	frista	fsha	Darokhshaiya
P.	nirúb	umat zak	kibná	ramít	ash	zak Daroj
Per.	ashú	kai án	mard	mírad	ash	án Daroj
Z.	Nasosh	úpa	déánsaiti ;	ád	marúd	ahoramazd
P.	Nasash	madam	dúbárad ;	azash	gúpt	anhúma
Per.	Nasash	bar	bidawíd ;	azash	guft	úrmazd
Z.	asari	paschíta	parairistim	sapítaman	Zarthoshtarú	
P.	ágh tej	áhir	pún wadrishanf	sapítamán	Zartohasht	
Per.	go shítáb	pas	ba gúzashtan	sapintamán	Zartosht	
Z.	úsa	haeha	búdú	niáf,—	Isha	Darokhshaiya
P.	lálá	min	búd púnjanyák rawad,—	Ash zak	Duroj	
Per.	baland	az	jan ba jáe rawad,—	Az án	Daroj	
Z.	Nasosh	úpa	dúánsaiti	apákhidrí	chiyá	umabíyá
P.	Nasash	madam	dúbárad	min	apakhtar	nima
Per.	Nasash	bar	dawad	az	taraf-i-awákhhtar	
Z.	makhsha	kihropa	irigítú	farsanúish	apazdáíandú	
P.	makhsh	karap	frang	panáj jánú	nawj kún	
Per.	magas	súrat	ganda	faráz-i-zánú	báz kún	
Z.	akaranim	dariwiyáe	niyat zúizdeshtáish	kharfashitari		
P.	akinára	daram	chagín bújatam	kharpastar		
Per.	beshumár	afshán	chún gúnahgártar	kharostar.		

Gújarátl translation of the above; from the same book :—

Arth. Púchhiyún Zartoste Ūrmazdne, e Ūrmazd Minúi aurdhí karnár, ane ostakhánwand dlúniyá ná paida karnár, ane ashú; kihwáre te múela ádamí úpar te Duroj Nasash daúre? Jawáb dídhó Ūrmazd kí shitáb múa pachhe e sapetmán Zartosht kí je májdaiásní díu nú ádamí gúzare, ane tehnú jíú baland kálbúd máhán thí nísare kí shitáb tehej waqt mán, tená kálbúd úpar te jago mán, te Daroj Nasash te kalbúd úpar daúre. Yáne, je ádamí gúzare tehenú jíú tehená kálbúd máhán t,hí ní kale, shitáb tehej waqt tehej jago mán, tehená kálbúd úpar Duroj Nasash baise awákhtar ní taraf t,hí g,hund,háto mák,haní súrte úre; ane tehená got,han ágal une pach,hwári gánd; une beshumár daram, yane, ch,hánt g,haní chándala ní misále tehená tan úpar ch,hánt ekek ane b,herwáli ane te g,band,háto úre kharafstar ní misál no rím ní b,harelo g,hanoj ríman.

Translat' n.

"Zartúsht asked Ūrmazd, 'O Ūrmazd, maker of the sky, creator of the world and heaven, when does the Daroj Nasash (Evil Spirit,) attack the dead man?'

"Ūrmazd answered, 'Immediately after the death of one professing the Májdaiásní faith,—the religion of Sapitamán Zartúsht, life having gone forth from the body, then quickly, at the very moment, and upon the spot, the Daroj Nasash flies upon that corpse.'


"That is, when a man dies, and his soul quits his body, in the instant and on the spot, the Daroj Nasash quickly alights upon the corpse, coming in the form of a carrion fly from the quarter of the North, and sitting about the knee and anus. Then the body must be lavigated with copious and innumerable sprinklings, that that carrion fly may depart filled with corruption and matter."

Here is a passage from a letter written at the beginning of the last century, by the Pársís of Kirmán to the Pársí communities of Surat, Broach, and Nowsarí, which is of some curiosity, as explanatory of customs connected with their religious observances in the disposal of their dead.

* * * * "Touching what you write concerning that praise-worthy and exalted work, the noble tomb, which he of the good faith, whose dwelling is Paradise, whose soul is in heaven,—Nhánáb,haí, son of Púnjiyá, founded, at a time, as the event proved, when he did not expect to behold its completion, for Nhánáb,haí died before the tomb was finished, leaving a will in which he directed

that his remains should be deposited in the noble tomb when ready to receive them. That upon the death of Nhánáb,haí, the Dastúrs and elders of your country assembled together, consulted and resolved that the corpse of Nhánáb,haí should be conveyed to an old tomb, and there placed, with a slab of stone below it and another above, and this was done accordingly. That two months after this disposition of the remains, they were removed and deposited in the new tomb. And that, thereupon, ——— stood forward and denounced this removal as an act contrary to our religion.

"Now, be it known to you, that the Zand and books of the Good Faith declare, if a corpse be placed in a clean spot, where are not the remains of another body, slabs of stone being put below and above it, having been borne thither, dressed in grave-clothes, by two

men of the Good Faith  بواج اوستا و ودید

'bawaj-i-awastá wa sag-díd,' with 'recitation of the Awasta and Dog-gaze;' this is certainly allowable, proper, and right." * * * * *

The "Sag-díd," that is, dog-gaze, is the ceremony of bringing a 'dog to look upon the dead body; for, according to some superstitious notions of the Pársis, evil spirits are driven away by the presence of the dog, and the fate of the deceased's soul may be, they think, guessed at, by the manner in which he regards the corpse. This usage they do not willingly make known; the term سگدید therefore, instead of being thus written, in the text, is, as here shown, concealed from the vulgar eye under the veil of Zand letters.

The book of Múllá Fíroz also contains extracts from the first Kardá of the Yajisni.—The Zand text is accompanied by a Pahlaví version, not procurable by Anquetil du Perron, as M. Burnouf informs us, regretting the want of it. The former is rewritten in Gújarátí characters, and literal and idiomatic translations, in that language, are added; they are made, apparently, from the Sanskrit of Niríósang,h, and the version of this Mobid is also sometimes given. The Pahlaví is not underlined in Persian letters, as in the extract from the Vendídád, but it will, on reference, appear in the place it occupies in the Kitáb-i-Awízhah Din*.

On M. Burnouf's researches into the origin and meaning of the Mobid's name Niríósang,h, it may be remarked, that Narsing,h, like others taken from their mythology, such as Krishn, Kalí, Dúrgá,

* This book and other papers, from which these extracts have been made, are now in the Library at the India House.

Rám, &c., is a common proper name among the Hindús; in Gújarát, it is usually abbreviated to Narsí. But what is more to our purpose, as accounting for finding a Mobid under such an appellation, the Parsís of the present day, following the practice of their immediate forefathers, freely adopt Hindú proper names, having significant meanings; hence, in almost every family we meet with Jíwan-jí, Kúnwar-jí, Dhan-jí, Mánik-jí, and the like.

The extract from the Yajisni that follows, is the same given by M. Burnouf, at pages 105 and 146, of "Commentaire sur le Yaçna." It has been put into Roman letters through the assistance of the Gújarátí transcription before-mentioned. The Sanskrit is from M. Burnouf's work, and compared with a MS. of a few pages, containing, with the Zand text, a Pahlaví version, the Sanskrit of Niríosingh, and its translation into old Gújarátí. The Gújarátí given below, is from the Kitáb-i-Awízahh Dín.

Z.	Niwdaicmi	haánkairimi	dat,hoso	Uhorúmazdae
S.	Nimantriyaáni	sampúran	cha karomi	maha gyáminam
G.	Notrún deún ch,heún	tamám	karún ch,heún	Swáminam
			dádár	Úrmazd
Z.	Ríwátí	kharinang,hatu	mazistahícha	
S.	Súdd,himantram	Srímantram	mahattaram	cha kila
G.	Núr-b,harelo	jalkát-b,harelo	moto saríro	
Z.	Walistahícha		sarístahícha	
S.	Vapúsháútkrishataram	cha mulyen	súndrataram	cha daranen
G.	Múle karí g,hano únchá ch,he		g,hano sáro ch,he	jowá mán
Z.	Kharochdistahícha		kharit,hwihistahícha	
S.	gár,hataram	cha káryanyáni	búd, hitamam	gayánitamam
G.	g,hano d,háro insáf no kám mán		g,hant bód,hí no guiyáuí	
Z.	Húkiripatitímícha			
S.	Súkalewartamam	cha kilásya angánin	anyonya anúrúpataráni	
G.	Atíso sáro sarí no			
Z.	Asád apanútímíhícha			
S.	pányát prad,hántamam	cha sadáchárát kila	Húrinnmazdát	yadd,hapú púnjen-
				taumahattaram
G.	pún no g,hano woto			
Z.	Húdaimanú			
S.	úttam gayáni	kila sadyápárgnyant		
G.	rúda gniyán no			
Z.	wú,úrú rafanag,hú			
S.	k,hích ch,hánanádí	kila aparán ab,hípistataren	ánanden kúrúte	
G.	Ich,há ná khwáhish	ne ánanúf samastáuí ni		

Z.	Iú	nú	dada	su	tatas
S.	Yo	asmán	dadáu	yo	d,hátýámás tanúbibam
G.	Ki	ápene paidá	kfd,hà	ki	d,hariántan
Z.	iú	tot,hrúf	iú	mínfú	sapiántútímu
S.	yah	prityapalayát	yo		addashyob,hyo brihattarah
G.	je	pálnár	ki		mínú t,hf búzúrg g,hano
Z.	Niwídaicmi	haánkafrimi			
S.	Nimantriyámi	sampúranýámi			
G.	Notrún deún ch, heún	sampúrau karún ch,he,ún			
Z.	* Wag,hewahemanag,he				
S.	Gwahman námanam amaram gawám pashúnám patim				
G.	Bahman Amisáspand ne				
Z.	Ushaiwahfshái				
S.	Ashwahist n. u. agnínám patim				
G.	Ardebilisht Amisáspand ne				
Z.	Khasáf,haráiwairiyái				
S.	Shaharewar n. u. sapta d,hatúnám patim				
G.	Shaharewar amisáspand ne				
Z.	Sapiántaiyármaiti				
S.	Spindármad n. u. Prit,hwf patim				
G.	Sapindarmad Amisáspand ne				
Z.	Haúrúadbiyú				
S.	Uwidád n. u. apám patim				
G.	Khúrdád Amisáspand ne				
Z.	Amiritadbiyú				
S.	Amirdád n. u. banspatínám patim				
G.	Amardád Amisáspand ne				
Z.	Gíúshdashnú gíúshúrúni				
S.	Gústánúm gorátmánam				
G.	Gosfandouántan ne gosfando ne rawáno ne				
Z.	A,tharai Ahoraimazdai				
S.	Agnim Horimmazdasya				
G.	Atash ne Urmazd na				
Z.	Íaitústimai				
S.	Samagantritánam amarib,hyo gúrúb,hyah chinheyáto				
G.	g,hano pochálo				
Z.	misanám				
S.	asima dí,t,hi prápte stah parlokashya ili lokashya cha				
G.	malelo ch,he				
Z.	sapiátaúrám				
S.	ngááro jyotisha				
G.	amargwará amisáspand.				

* This word, and those which follow in the Zand, appear to be barbarous inventions to disguise well-known proper names.

Literal translation of the Gújardt.

"I give invitation, I make complete (invocation to) the just Ūrmazd, full of light, full of splendour, great in form, in origin most high, excellent to behold, for many days in works of justice; very wise, very intelligent, of pure body, most virtuous and wise, accomplishing happily desires and wishes; self created; the preserver; greatest and most venerable in heaven.

"I invite, I make perfect (invocation) to the Amisáspands Bahman, (from the Sanskrit,) lord of cows and beasts. Ardebisht, lord of fire. Shaharewar, lord of the seven minerals. Sapindármad, lord of the earth. Khúrdád, lord of the water. Amardád, lord of trees and foliage. Gústanam, (from the Gújarát) guardian of sheep and flocks. The fire Ūrmazd, the most penetrating and influential of the Amisáspands."

From the Vispard,—Zand text, Pahlaví version, Persian translation; from the Kitáb-i-Awízahh Dín.

Z. Niwídaemi	haánkairími	Maidúshimahi	wásatarú
Pah. Nawidnam	wánkardnam	Mídióshaham	wástar
P. Bakhwánam	tamám kúnam	Mídióshaham	parvarish
Z. dátaníchi	ashaúnú	ashahi	rat,hawú
Pah. úrúnishi	ahloh	ahlaish	rad dín
P. áb andarúf	asho	ashwiyí	búzúrg andar

Translation.

"I call upon, I perfect (invocation to) Mídiósham, (one of the Ghumbars,) preserver of water, splendid, pure, and great".

From the "Din-Kard."—The Persian translations by the late Múllá Fíróz and a Dastúr of Surat.

By Múllá Fíróz.

Pah. Madam	kaná	babá	angúshídah	raúshaní	min	bún
Per. Dar	har	báb	hamín rawish	raúshaní	az	ágház
Pah. raúshan	zak	bún	pánsishan	wajar		dahíwúd
Per. raúshan	án	ágház	pursish	jawáb		pádsáh
Pah. buzand	Kaf Washtásp		paní kínd	bún		bún
Per. sazawár	Kaf Gúshatásp		nawisht	ágház		ágház
Pah. ú ganj	Saspígán	ospard	pazhín			pashízkíhá
Per. ú ganj-i-	Saspígán	sipúrd	naql			sákhtah

Pah. Per.	wastardan gústardan	parnúd farnúđ	min az	zak án	áhir pas	pazhín naql		
Pah. Per.	ú dazh ú qila	napisht nawisht	shadúníd fristád	tamannich ánjá	dáshtan dáshtan			
Pah. Per.	ágáhi ágáhi (dád)							
Pah. Per.	Dín Andar	wazand gazand	min az	marah rahzan	dúsh bad—	kadman khíra	Arsúđ Sikandar	
Pah. Per.	ú Írán ú Írán	sitún shahar	dín dín	khodáf khodáf	mad rusud	zak án	pún ba	dazh qila
Pah. Per.	napishtan nawishtan	ú sojishan ú sokht	zak án	pún ba	ganj gunj-i	Saspígán Saspígán		
Pah. Per.	ú padnam ú dast—i—	Arúmiáyán Rúmiyán	mad rasid	apash azú	úilt án	Yúdnáf Yúnáf		
Pah. Per.	hazwán zabán	wajárad guzárish kard	pún ba	ágáhi ágáhi	min az	peshínf peshingán	gupt . . . guft . . .	
Pah. Per.	Ahir Pas	min az	wazand gazand	washúpshan kharáb shudah	min az	Tazikán Táziyán		
Pah. Per.	úih án	díniyán díniyán	ganj ganj	kishwar kishwar	mad rasid	húparwad nek dáná	Ātúnbád Ādarbád	
Pah. Per.	Ātúrfarobag Ādarfarobag	Farúkhzádán Farúkhzádán		húdmíniyán nekdíniyán		peshpá peshwá		
Pah. Per.	zak án	pazhín naql	kastíhá kohmaná	Pirangí Firangí	jánúníd búd	nú naú	apzar afzar	
Pah. Per.	min az	Pirangí Firangí	rokhár báz	ú hamí ú hania	dínán dínán	zish furá	babá báb	
Pah. Per.	jáitkúntan áwurdan	dín andar	nakfrshan nigáh	andázshan andákht		ú shapír ú bilh		
Pah. Per.	dín dín	awasták awastá	zand zand	Púriyúdkeshán Púriyúdkeshán		gobshan guftah		
Pah. Per.	anjúshídá hamín rawish	pafrawi pafrawi	min az	zak án	bará neki	rakhar báz	kard kard	
Pah. Per.	pún ba	shagúpt shagúft	áram áram	zand zand		Zartúhusht Zartúshht		

By the Dastúr.

Pah.	Farjá	fud	pún	shúm	ú shádiyá	wa rámanshan
Per.	Tamám	shud	ba	darúid	ú shádi	wa rameshani

Pah.	dín	yaúm-e-Anhúamá	min	bíná Sapandúmad	Shanat
Per.	andar	roz-i-Ūrmazd	az	máh-i-Sapandúmad	Sál
Pah.	865 áhir	min	shanat-i-rúr	bih	Yakhand Malikán
Per.	865 bád	az	Sál-i man	aúi	Yazdijird Malikán
Pah.	Malikai	Shatanyárán	nawishtah	húm	ra dín
Per.	Malikai	Shaharyárán	nawishtah	ham	man dín
Pah.	bandah	Shatanyár	Yardasharí	Írichí	Rústamí
Per.	bandah	Shaharyár	Ardshír bin	Írich-bin	Rústam-bin-
Pah.	Írichí	Kúbád	Íránshá	nawishtah	húman
Per.	Írich-bin	Kúbád	Íránsháh	nawishtah	ham
Pah.	fanáj	shabkúd.	Gúman	daftar	pazhún min
Per.	pešh	guzásht.	Ín	duftar	naql az
Pah.	daftari	Sapandihíd	kanad	húman.	
Per.	daftar-i—	Sapandihad	kardah	am.	

From the “Dasátir,” p. 222, et seq., original Text and Translation as printed.

O.	Fa	Sám—i—	Mazdám,	hi	farjishwar	Hartáband
Per.	Ba	nám—i—	Yazdán,	ai	wakhshwar	Zartúsh
O.	pal arjum	Símkandash	haikár	hawad	o fir	
Per.	pas—i—tú	Sikandar	chamr	shawad	o pas	
O.	hurmán	Sarsad	wakhshwar	háyd	ú kirtás-i-tamká	
Per.	nakhústún	Sásán	paighambar	áyad	ú námah-i-túrá	
O.	laspár	nídah furúnad.—		Hí Símkandash		
Per.	hamsírazí	raúshan sázad.—		Aí Síkandar		
O.	farpúd-i-Nashab		Mazdám	arjumká	fa	
Per.	púr-i-Daráb		Yazdán	túrá	ba	
O.	fardíshwarí	wa	jáshwarí	fartákht,	zandím	
Per.	pádsháhí	wa	jahángíri	bardásht,	aín-i-	
O.	fúzúr	Ábád ká	yo	fúzúrdarím-i-farjishwarán		
Per.	búzúrg	Ábád rá	ki	búzúrgtarín-i-paighambarán		
O.	ád	fa	pútfar	shálíshwarí	farochíz	kum
Per.	ast	ba	bisiyár	dánishwarí	áshkárá	kun
O.	Amar	haz	harmúd-i-tam	pam	harásnám-i-Hírás	
Per.	Agar	az	lashkar-i-tú	bar	nekán-i-Írán	
O.	tazaráh	rasmídah	yatúsh	wun	wa	híshám ká
Per.	ázári	rasídah	patít	kun	wa	íshán rá
O.	arsád	wardán	wahar	la	haz	arjúm purnam.
Per.	khúshnúd	gardán	war	na	az	tú pursam.

ELEMENTS OF PAHLAVI GRAMMAR.

PERSONAL PRONOUNS.

	<i>Pahlavi.</i>	<i>Persian.</i>	<i>English.</i>
<i>Sing.</i>	Ra or Awam.	Man.	I.
	Rak or Awat.	Tú	Thou.
	Warmún.	Ū	He.
<i>Plu.</i>	Rámún	Má	We.
	Rakúm	Shumá	Ye.
	Gúmishán	Íshán	They.

Relatives.

Dak or Zak.	Án.	That.
Dakán or Zakán.	Ánhá.	Those.
Gúman	Ín.	This.
Gúmanán.	Ínán.	These.

Reciprocal Pronouns.

<i>Sing.</i>	Awam' wapshaman.	Man khúd.	I, myself.
	Rak wapshaman.	Tú khúd.	Thou, thyself.
	Warmún wapshaman.	Ū khúd.	He, his self.
<i>Plu.</i>	Rámún wapshaman.	Má khúd.	We, ourselves.
	Rakúm wapshaman.	Shumá khúd.	Ye, yourselves.
	Gúmishán wapshaman.	Íshán khúd.	They, themselves.

VERB. *Infinitive.*

Jammúnatan or Jammúratán.	Guftan.	To speak.
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Preterite.

<i>Sing.</i>	Awam jammúnífd.	Guftam.	I spake.
	Awat jammúnífd.	Gufti.	Thou speakest.
	Warmún jammúnífd.	Guft.	He spake.
<i>Plu.</i>	Rámún jammúnífd.	Guftim.	We spake.
	Rakúm jammúnífd.	Shumá guftfd.	Ye spake.
	Gúmishán jammúnífd.	Íshán guftand.	They spake.

Future.

<i>Sing.</i>	Awam jammúnishífd.	Khwáham guft.	I will speak.
	Awat jammúnishífd.	Khwáhí guft.	Thou wilt speak.
	Warmún jammúnishífd.	Khwáhad guft.	He will speak.
<i>Plu.</i>	Rámún jammúnishífd.	Khwáhim guft.	We will speak.
	Rakúm jammúnishífd.	Khwáhid guft.	Ye will speak.
	Gúmishán jammúnishífd.	Khwáhand guft.	They will speak.

¹ This word in its form and import has every appearance of being taken from the Hindí Apan—Apas.

Imperative.

<i>Pahlavi.</i>	<i>Persian.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Jamnún.	Bagú.	Speak thou.
Jamnúnid.	Bagúyid.	Speak ye.
La ¹ jamnúnid	Nagúyad.	Let him not speak.
Lá jamnúnand.	Nagúyand.	Let them not speak.
Awam lá jamnún.	Nagúyan.	Let me not speak.
Rámún lá jamnún.	Nagúyím.	Let us not speak.

The modern Pársís are not behind their ancestors in the desire to mystify, or to interpolate a date, where they find an opportunity. For instance, there is a copy of the *Venúdad* in the Library at the India House, one of the books collected by Mr. Guise, surgeon at Surat, which both from the state of the writing and the effect² of the ink on the paper is manifestly a MS. of some antiquity; it is incomplete, and at the bottom of the last page there is added in Zand and Persian characters, the letters fresh, and quite distinct from those of the text, "Six hundred and fifty-two," a date corresponding with A.D. 1282. This date is also referred to in a Gújarátí note at the beginning of the book, but it is evident it cannot be that of the actual time at which the book was written, probably between two and three hundred years ago. In the catalogue of Guise's books the date, by mistake, is made 125 of Yazdjird.

The period of the arrival of the Pársís in India is involved in doubt and obscurity. According to the traditions of this event, as they would appear to be preserved in their only historical work extant, a short poem named "*Qissa-i-Sanján*," written about A. D. 1600, some Persian families in the reign of Khúsrú Parwez, warned by a prophecy of approaching evil, retired to the mountains of Khorassan, it is said, forty-nine years before the era of Yazdjird. There is, however, an error here, for Khúsrú Parwez began his reign A. D. 591, or only forty-one years before the accession of Yazdjird in 632. These families and their descendants, the story goes on to say, continued in Khorassan for a hundred years, and then quitted the country for the island of Ormaz, where they sojourned fifteen

¹ The *la* here is clearly the Arabic negative.

² The ink of this MS., unlike that commonly used in the East, a preparation of lamp-black, appears to contain some corroding substances; the letters in the middle of the page in several places having eaten through and destroyed the paper. The writing is unaffected by the application of moisture which would efface letters written with the common Indian inks.

years, and then sailed to Diu on the coast of Gújarát, whence, after a residence of nineteen years. they passed over to Sanján (St. John's), a place on the continent of India, south of Daman.

The following is an amusing example of their love of effect, where they thought something magnificent and high-sounding was attainable. Since the division among the Pársís of India, which arose nearly a century ago on the subject of computing their year,—the era of Yazdijird—distinguishing names between the parties have been introduced. This era, known at the time in Persia by the name of “Sál-i-qadím,” was found to differ from that observed by the Indian Pársís by one month, commencing just thirty days earlier according to the names of the months, than the Indo-Persian year. A Pársí had been deputed to Persia to inquire into the matter; he was a chúrígá, or bracelet-maker, and appears to have seen reason for following the custom of Persia; on a small number of the community adopting his opinion, and resolving to correct their year and bring it to the Persian standard, it received the name of its introducer's business, and was called Chúrígá, as well as Sál-i-qadím, and its observers Chúrígariyáns and Qadímís. The great mass of the Pársí population, however, adhered to the existing era, and thenceforward took the names of Rasamiyán and Shaharsáiyán from their year, which was denominated Rasamí, “customary,” and Shahar-sái, or “city-like,” “common;” and these names continue to prevail among this people, to their separation in many things of social and religious observances and duties.

During another dispute which began some years ago among the Pársís of India regarding the observance of the Kabísa, or intercalary month, and is not ended yet, some one proposed to substitute for the word “Shahar-sái” with its Gújarátí affix, as a corrected reading, Sháhansháhi, and thus convert the vulgar into the imperial year, and simple citizens into kings of kings. The thing was considered a joke, and laughed at by the Qadímís and their leader Múlá-Firóz, as passing the reception of the most ignorant; nevertheless the absurd change has been adopted, and among others by the Editor of a lithographed version of the Vendidad, a copy of which was presented to the Asiatic Society; departing from the hitherto unvaried usage, he dates the dedication of his book on “the 1st day of the 5th month of the Sháhansháhi year 1200,” instead of writing 1st Shaharewar, 1200 Shaharsái or Rasamí. But this is surpassed by a writer on the Kabísa question, who, professing to follow the authority of the “Qissa-i-Sanján,” (innocent, I am bound to add, of

the egregious anachronism), gravely informs his Pársí readers, that it was the persecution of the Portuguese which compelled their ancestors to quit Diu, an event, we have seen, that occurred about the year of grace 717.

I now give further extracts from the Dín-kard, which will serve as specimens of Pahlaví, compared, as a language, with Persian.

Pah.	Jammúnand	ágh	min	farábankah	nadúk	úkhirde
Per.	Goyand	ki	az	ilm-i-nek		khird-i
Pah.	nadúk	jánúníđ,	wa	min	khirde nadúk	khúf
Per.	nek	yáftahshawad;	wa	az	khird-i-nek	khú-i
Pah.	nadúk	jánúníđ;	min	khúf	nadúk	khem
Per.	nek	hásil áyad;	az	khú-i	nek	khwáhish-i—
Pah.	nadúk	jánúníđ;	wa	min	kám nadúk	kanshan
Per.	nek	paidá shawad;	wa	az	khwáhish-i-nek	kirdár-i—
Pah.	farárán	jánúníđ;	pún	kanshan	farárán	Daroj
Per.	rást	gardad;	waz	kirdár-i-rást		Deo Duroj
Pah.	min	ghán	bah	kúd	jánúníđ.	
Per.	az	jahán	dúr	kardah	báshad.	
Pah.	Jammúnand	ágh		anshután		haft
Per.	Goyand	ki		mardumán		haft
Pah.	mandáma	pahlám.		Hásrúhiyá,	hiláliyá,	awádiyá,
Per.	chíz	bahud ast.		Nek-sukhmí,	parhezagí,	neki,
Pah.	khodáiyá,	patúkhsháiyá,		dúnftiyá,	aú	shináishan.
Per.	khodái,	pádsháhí,		durusti,	wa	shinási.
Pah.	Hásrúhiyá	aná		jánúníđ	mún	bástán
Per.	Nek-sukhmí	ín		búd	ki	qadim
Pah.	bahá	madam	sipfrán	shináishan	sháynd	jásúníđ.
Per.	ráh	bar	bih	shásán	sháyad	dárand.
Pah.	Hiláliyá	aná	jánúníđ	mún	kanpa	rúban
Per.	Parhezagí	ín	búd	ki	kirfah	barái
						rúán
Pah.	wádúndiyan.	Awádiya	aná	jánúníđ		mún
Per.	kunad.	Nekí	ín	búd		ki
Pah.	dihishan	sipfrán	aú	arzángán		wádúndiyan.
Per.	dádan-i-	neckán	wa	sazáwárán		kunad.
Pah.	Khodáiyá	aná	jánúníđ	mún	tún	min
Per.	Khodái	ín	búd	ki	tan	az
						winas
						bad
Pah.	wádúndín	jásúníđ.		Patúkhsháiyá	aná	jánúníđ
Per.	kardan	dárad.		Pádsháhí	ín	búd

Pah.	múu	jásúnishmah	sipfrán	au	kharújashmah	suríratáu	
Per.	ki	nigáh	dáshtan-i-nekán	wa	sazá	namúdan	
Pah.	wádúndín.	Dúnftiyá	aná	jánúníd	mún	tun	au
Per.	kunad.	Durustí	ín	búd	ki	tan	wa
Pah.	rúban	khúndí	min	júd	gaúhar	júdaf	rutaman,
Per.	rúan-i-khúd	az	bad	gaúhar	júdaf		kunad,
Pah.	hapashman,	ham	gaúhar	ham	jásúníd.		Shinaíshan
Per.	ba khesh-i-	ham	gaúhar	ham	dárad.		Shinásf
Pah.	aná	jánúníd	mún	pún	nadúkiya	mad jaghnámúníd	
Per.	ir	búd	ki	ba	neki	rasídah	báshad.

An examination of the above and foregoing extracts will render the following opinion and conclusions of the Baron de Sacy, at least, questionable; they appear to be founded on Pársí tradition, unsupported, so far as I know, by authentic history.

"La traduction Pahlavie du livre de Calila a eu le sort de tout ce qui constituoit la littérature Persane, au temps de la dynastie des Sassanides. Elle fut détruite en grande partie lors de la conquête de la Perse par les Arabes, et sacrifiée au zèle aveugle des premiers Mussulmans; et le peu qui échapa alors à la destruction, tomba dans l'oubli et disparut lorsque la langue Pahlavie fut remplacée par l'Arabe et le Parsi."—Calila wa Dimna, Mém. Historique, p. 10.

Pure Persian, there can be little doubt, like the Arabic, in those countries where the latter prevailed, was spoken and existed as the national language throughout all Persia, for centuries before the Mohammedan conquest. Not a word of this language, it is probable, was lost at the time (A. D. 1,000,) when Firdáúsí flourished, whose immortal poem bears ample testimony of its richness and beauty; nor is there reason to suppose that any other tongue was spoken in the courts of the Sassanides.

The Kalela wa Damna, was translated into Arabic by Abdúllah bin Al Múqassa; he died A. H. 137, A. D. 755, and the language of the original, used by him, is said to have been Pahlaví; but this must be understood as referring to the same meaning of the word as that which Firdáúsí applies to it; namely, "Bástán," old Persian, and not what is now called Pahlaví by the Pársís. See Farhang-i-Jaháúgírí, word "Pahalwání," "Pahlawí."

"Agar pahalwání na dámf zabán
"Batázi tú Arwandrá Dajla khwán."

"Zamán gasht dast-i-fasáhat qaví
"Bipardékhtan daftar-i-Pahlaví."

Firdaísí having stated that to him the "Pahlaví" owes the graces of eloquent composition and vigorous style, on closing his work, names the improved language "Pársí," a name appropriate to the modern language of Persia,—whether taking Arabic vocables with a sparing hand or more largely,—from that day to this.

"Base ranj burdan dar in sal-i-sí,
"Ajam zindah kardam ba in Pársí."

This goes far, I think, to prove that Pahlavání, or Pahlaví, is only another name for the Zabán-i-bástán, used, we may be allowed to conclude, to distinguish the ancient tongue from the modern language of Persia, which, without structural change, was then beginning to receive the copious accession of Arabic that has since flowed into it; enriching the language of the country by intermixture with that of its conquerors, instead of superseding or destroying it. A natural result, and, as a fact, it is strongly opposed to the hypothesis of the Baron de Sacy, touching the fate of the supposed Pahlaví, or the language of the religious books of the Pársís.

This paper is closed with a translation into Zand, by the Surat Dastúr, of the fragment of old Persian, published by Sir William Jones;¹ and an observation the value of which may be tested by reference to Kennedy's work (quoted before), whence, indeed, it is drawn.

If, as it is said, the succession of languages in Persia was Zand, Pahlaví, and Persian, is it not more than singular that the two first should be totally unlike each other, and, that more pure Persian words should be found in Zand than in Pahlaví, which it immediately succeeded? May I be permitted to add, what appears far from improbable; that the Sanskrit supplied the frame-work upon which Zand has been constructed; whilst it is evident that, in the formation of Pahlaví, it is from the Arabic that assistance has been sought and applied, but following, particularly in the infinitive, the form of the Persian verb.

Z.	Hacha	pitaram	wá	mátaram	em.	fo	pitaram	wá
P.	Az	pid	ú	mád	chi	ki	pid	ú
Z.	mátram	akhsimútú	bawfti	akurzam	wahishtam	núú		
P.	mad	nakhushnúd	búd	hargiz	bihisht	na		
Z.	wínfti;	píti	aso	ashúnim	winasim	wínfti;	mazishtánim	
P.	viníd;	ba	jáyi	kirfah	bizah	viníd;	mihán rá	

¹ Vol. iv. p. 306, 8vo. edition.

Z.	píti	urwantim	dáriti ;	kazishtanim	píti	híehad	gónam
P.	ba	ázarm nek	dárid ;	kihán rá	ba	heeh	gónah
Z.	má záríti ;	húbisháwantam	darighúshim	nangim	ma	dáriti ;	
P.	mayázárid ;	az kheshávandí-	darvish	naug		madárid ;	
Z.	dátim	ú	windátim yo	dáma patím ayútá	wuhú	kárim	
P.	dád	ú	vindád-i-	kháliq-i-yuktá	bih	kár	
Z.	dáriti ;	hacha	fristakhízim	tanú	pasínam	must	
P.	dárid ;	az	ristákhíz-i-	tan	pasín	andeshah	
Z.	numáíti ;	mawátá	ko asha	tanúm	hawfsha	dúzhag, hfm	
P.	numáyid ;	mabádá	ki ashú	tan	khesh rá	dúzakhí	
Z.	kiríti,	wa	tíehid	píti	hawístim	yáníti	aiba kasánim
P.	kuníd	va	ánchi	ba	kheshan	nashahad	ba kasau
Z.	ma	parisindíti	ú	ma	kiríti ;	wispacha	píti gít, hfm
P.	ma	pasandíd	va	ma	kuníd ;	harchí	ba gítí
Z.	arizíti	aiba	máfóm	hí	padírahi	átí.	
P.	kúníd	ba	mainú	az aúih	pazirah	áyad.	